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Under Which Flag?

BY J. A. EDGERTON.

Are we pagan yet, or Christian? Look conditions in the face —
Mars the god whom still we worship! Mammon in our rulers' place!

After all our boasted progress, have we reached the nobler race?

Are we pagan yet, or Christian? Do we use as shibboleth
The old watchword of the Roman, or of Him of Nazareth?
Do we preach love's law of mercy, or the leaden law of death?

Are we pagan yet, or Christian? Yes, I know that we protest.
Every age has been pretentious that its standards were the best;
But by action, not lip service, is our real thought expressed.

Are we pagan yet, or Christian? Answer by the higher light;
Let the test be with the standards of unchanging truth and right.

Do we worship toward the morning, or the past's war-clouded night?

Are we pagan yet, or Christian? 'T is no matter what we claim.
Though we have the tongues of angels, the results are just the same.

Do we yet the deeds of Cæsar in the Master's holy name?

Are we pagan yet, or Christian? Do we rob and overreach?
Do we wrong and slay our brothers 'neath the mask of godly speech?

Sow we seeds of love or hatred? Do we practice what we preach?

Are we pagan yet, or Christian? Tell the truth whate'er betide.
By our lust, our greed, our conquest, is our Saviour still denied?
By the murder of His brethren is our Lord yet crucified?

The United States and China.*

BY HON. GEORGE F. SEWARD, FORMERLY UNITED STATES
MINISTER TO CHINA.

The notable matter in the history of our domestic dealings with the Chinese is their exclusion from our territory.

A broad principle, recognized by us generally from the beginning of our national existence, is the right of the people of other countries to come into our country and to live among us under the equal protection of our laws. This principle was solemnly set forth in an Act of Congress, approved July 27, 1868, as follows:

"Whereas, the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and, whereas, in the recognition of this principle this government has freely received emigrants from all nations and invested them with the rights of citizenship; and, whereas, it is claimed that such American citizens, with their descendants, are subjects of foreign states, owing allegiance to the governments thereof; and, whereas, it is necessary to the maintenance of public peace that this claim of foreign allegiance should be promptly and finally disavowed; therefore, any declaration,

instruction, opinion, order, or decision of any officer of the United States which denies, restricts, impairs or questions the right of expatriation, is declared inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Republic."

That the principle involved was not meant to be confined to an interchange of residence between our people and the people of other so-called "civilized" states is indicated by the terms of a treaty between the United States and China, commonly known as the "Burlingame Treaty," that was proclaimed on the 28th of July of the same year.

"The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively, from the one country to the other, for the purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents."

THIS PRINCIPLE SET ASIDE

One might reasonably suppose that a principle of national action set forth so solemnly, and following the line of precedent from the beginning of our national experience, would not be set aside lightly. It was, however, set aside; and I think you will be disposed to believe, when I recite the facts, that it was set aside lightly. As they occurred during my own time as Minister to China and shortly thereafter, the narrative will be somewhat personal.

In the spring of 1879, barely eleven years after the proclamation of the Burlingame treaty, I was at home from China on furlough. Feeling concern lest there might be precipitated upon me, as Minister to China, some unwelcome duty in regard to the matter of immigration, and particularly because the subject was likely to be a factor in the Presidential election then approaching, I prepared and submitted to the Secretary of State a memorandum setting forth my views. In that document I indicated my belief that the United States ought not to depart from its traditional policy as respects free immigration, but that it could properly seek to forestall and prevent the coming into our country of disfavored classes of the Chinese, to wit: contract laborers, paupers, criminals, diseased persons and prostitutes. Such limitations in fact could not be held to run counter to our traditional policy, nor to our practices thereunder.

I submitted further a proposal to make this plan effective by providing, in concert with the Chinese government, for courts of inquest consisting of American and Chinese officials, sitting at proper places in China, before whom should appear persons wishing to come to this country, the duty of the courts being to require proof that no such proposing emigrants could be properly included in either of the objectionable categories stated.

I was greatly gratified upon receiving a little later information that the Secretary of State approved my proposals and had requested me to prepare my own instructions on the lines stated. I did prepare such instructions fully and carefully, and before I left the country I received them precisely in the terms in which I had written them, signed by the Secretary himself.

Upon my return to China I entered upon the necessary negotiations with the Chinese government, presenting

* Substance of an address delivered before the Congregational Club of Brooklyn, October 28, 1902.